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might be started. Noon is a popular time for these gatherings or just after the day's work is done. A buri-producing guhang is rarely without flies, bees and thirsty drinkers looking for a few "drinks on the cuff." At night the men may gather at the buri by the light of the lamp. Guhang trees are a sort of "rural poolhall" in Caticugan.

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Guhang lihis are always made by men. This is unusual since most of the other lihis in Caticugan, particularly in regard to agriculture, are held by women. However, there is a fairly general feeling among many of the barriofolk that it is not wise to permit a woman to ascend a guhang buri since she might contaminate it--especially if she is menstruating. Some believe a menstruating woman might cause the guhang to become malodorous or the sap to stop flowing. Other reasons why few women climb a buri are well summed up by this comment of one woman.

> There is nothing wrong if women climb guhang trees, only it is too dangerous for women to climb. Our skirt might be tangled in the thorns [of the tree] and there is danger of falling. We have a new guhang and just the other day I climbed our guhang because somebody came to buy some guhang and my son and my husband were out working in the field. Our guhang is quite short and nothing happened to the guhang [because she climbed the tree].

Another woman said:

> I have climbed our guhang many times. Others said that it is not good for women to climb the guhang for the guhang might become malodorous. But I do not believe in this because the tuba [guhang] of the guhang [buri] that I have climbed many times did not become malodorous.

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However, I never once saw a woman climb or sit at the top of a buri.

When the lihi is to be held the owner or a manangueta ascends the ladder to the top of the buri. The "eye" is retrimmed with a special bolo called ig-alabia and a small hole bored into its center. Many of the ingredients listed for the lihi (Table XX)[1] are put in a small bottle and mixed with vinegar and/or Mallorca. Most of this liquid is poured into the hole made in the "eye" and the bottle may be left in the palm. The pag-i tail and three small sharpened pieces of bagakay bamboo are put in the hole in the "eye"; sometimes a piece of paniawan vine is hung on one of the upper frond stems.

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Three days after this lihi the buri's "eye" is again retrimmed. A small groove now is cut in the "eye" to direct the flowing sap down a trough and into a large jar (tadyao). (See Plate XXVIII.)[2] Normally the "eye" is trimmed once if not several times each day.

> Fresh cuts [of the "eye"] should be made at frequent intervals, as the rate of the flow [of the sap] may be thus temporarily increased as much as 50 per cent. The rate also varies according to the thickness of the slice removed; at least, if the exudation is from the top of the trunk...As it flows from the tree and for a short time after, the sap is colorless, odorless, and neutral or slightly alkaline. After standing a viscous, followed by a putrid, fermentation develops when no precaution is taken to prevent it. The sucrose begins to invert in a few hours and the process is complete in about thirty hours. A comparatively small yield of alcohol results from the spontaneous fermentation of the sap; a greater portion of the reducing sugars being changed by the viscous, putrid, and other fermentations than by the alcoholic...[58]

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[58] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 298.

1 [See p. 350ff, cat. 273 + 245--Analyst]

end a bamboo container (sankob) is attached that collects the sap. Ginit is put in the top of the container to keep out insects that are attracted by the sweet scent of the sap. 273

An average coconut bud will produce sap for about one month, although not all buds give sap. Tan-bark is powdered and added to the tuba for the same reasons as in making guhang. There are no lihis connected with making tuba. Tuba is collected once a day; the house of this tuba maker was a favorite barrio meeting place.

Cacao

In 1951 only 50-60 cacao bushes grew in Caticugan. Cacao beans sold in the poblacion for about four dollars a pound--so expensive that few barriofolk drank or served chocolate except at wedding feasts or during the local fiestas. Owners of the cacao bushes ground the seeds and made small patties of chocolate which were dried in the sun. 245 435 251

One farmer in Barrio Caticugan had an ingenious method of watering his four cacao bushes and one coffee tree. A bamboo filled with water was propped against a tree so that the lower end was at the base of a cacao plant, and the water slowly dripped through a small hole. When the ground around the plants became too damp this hole in the bamboo was plugged for a few days. 245

Faded rags, originally red, were tied to branches of many of the cacao bushes. Some people believe that, 841

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when a cacao bush is passed or brushed by a menstruating woman, the fruit may rot or the flowers fall if it is not protected with these rags.

Jackfruit

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A number of jackfruit trees (So-oy: Artocarpus odoratissima Blum) grow in Caticugan. The jackfruit was brought to the Philippines from India (here known as yaca) during the Spanish period.[70] The fruit is eaten raw or boiled as a vegetable. Sometimes jackfruits are wrapped with an old mat or paper, as are squashes, to protect them from the insects; the most serious of jackfruit's pest appears to be ants.

Pineapples and Papayas

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Several small patches of native pineapple, penia, (Ananas comusos Linn.) occur in Barrio Caticugan. The plants, however, were usually given little care; the fruits were small and wormy. Some barriofolk in Caticugan had a few papaya trees (Kapaya: Carica papaya Linn.); they said that more papayas were not grown because of excessive flooding during the rainy season. This explanation, however, was largely rationalization because in many localities papayas could have been grown without risk of flooding at any time of the year. Green papayas were sometimes grated as a "salad" or fed to pigs.

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[70] Antonio de Morga, Blair and Robertson, op. cit. XVI, p. 88.

These attitudes and customs associated with securing aquatic products in Siaton illustrate how Catholicism overlaid the ancient religious concepts. Animism and Catholicism operate in different conceptual frames of reference and barriofolk shift from one to the other without any severe conflict. This situation may explain the relative ease with which the Spanish padres "converted" Filipinos to Catholicism in the past.

The technology of aquatic products, like that of agriculture, also illustrates the sexual division of labor. Some activities are strictly male or female; for a male to participate in women's activities would render him suspect. For example, the only men in Caticugan who were vendors of vegetables, guhang or rice cakes, were individuals known to the barriofolk as bayutes, highly feminine-acting men. There are some activities that either a male or a female may perform as far as the participants' physical strength is concerned, or take into consideration the restricted mobility of most women. The concept of menstrual pollution is another factor; e.g., women should not climb guhang trees (spoil flavor of drink), approach men making boats (the wood might crack), or approach the fish corral (the bonsod's luck might be lost). Age may modify one's role in certain activities. For example, old men may and do help women gather clams and snails at the seashore, an activity in which most young men would not think of participating.

The religious concepts of Caticugan barriofolk are integrated into most aspects of their culture. Religion